SOLEMN PLEDGE OF THE THIRTY MILLION VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS PEKING

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PEKING 1965

Printed in the People's Republic of China

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STATEMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH VIETNAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION

(March 22, 1965)

For more than ten years, the U.S. imperialists have continuously interfered in and committed aggression against South Vietnam. Of late, they brought into South Vietnam many more units of U.S. combat troops composed of missile units, marines, B-57 strategic bombers together with mercenary troops from south Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Australia, Malaya, etc.

They even frenziedly ordered air forces of the U.S. and its henchmen to conduct repeated air raids against North Vietnam and Laos. At present, not only are they stubbornly prosecuting their criminal aggressive war in South Vietnam but also attempting to fan up the flames of war throughout Indo-China and Southeast Asia.

The puppet administration, hangers-on of the U.S., in South Vietnam is daily committing more heinous crimes against the country. The impudent traitors are bending their knees before the aggressors and are bringing in snakes to kill chickens of the home coop, inviting troops of the United States and many of its satellite countries to come to South Vietnam to massacre our people, occupy

and trample upon the territory of our sacred fatherland and oppress and exploit our people most harshly.

The Vietnamese people and the people throughout Indo-China and Southeast Asia and all people of the world who love peace and justice are highly indignant at and strongly protesting against the criminal war-mongering and aggressive acts of the U.S. imperialists.

Facing the present situation of utmost gravity, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation deems it necessary to reaffirm once again its iron-like and unswerving stand to carry through the war of resistance against the U.S. imperialists.

1. THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS ARE THE SABOTEUR OF THE GENEVA AGREEMENTS, THE MOST BRAZEN WAR-MONGER AND AGGRESSOR AND THE SWORN ENEMY OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

As is known to everyone, the extremely glorious war of resistance of the Vietnamese people defeated the aggressive war of the French colonialists with the intervention and assistance of the U.S. imperialists. In fact, during the past war of resistance of the Vietnamese people, the U.S. imperialists supplied to the French colonialists 2,600 million dollars, hundreds of thousands of tons of armaments and 200 military advisers to strangle the aspiration for independence and freedom of the Vietnamese people. However, with their indomitableness and determination to die rather than be enslaved, their courage and their staunch resolve to fight and with the wholehearted support of the people throughout the world, the heroic Vietnamese people won great victories,

liberated half of their beloved country from the clutches of the enemy, leading to the conclusion of an international agreement in Geneva in 1954 which solemnly recognized the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, restored peace in this area and laid the basis for the reunification of Vietnam by peaceful means.

The Vietnamese people deeply understand the value of these agreements. Now as in the past they are correctly implementing these agreements and are resolved to see these agreements implemented in accordance with the spirit and letter of an international agreement of full legality. On the contrary, the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen in South Vietnam have step by step and daily more brazenly trampled on the Geneva agreements and have in fact scrapped them. They have brazenly conducted an atrocious war of aggression in South Vietnam during the past 11 years in an attempt to enslave and oppress the South Vietnamese people, turn South Vietnam into one of their colonies and military bases and perpetuate the division of Vietnam.

Before the ink had dried on the Geneva agreements, the U.S. imperialists hastily dragged their henchmen satellites into setting up the SEATO military bloc and brazenly put South Vietnam under the protective umbrella of this bloc, which amounted in reality to placing South Vietnam under the command of the United States. Since then, the U.S. has undertaken ever deeper and more brazen intervention in South Vietnam. From the end of 1954 to 1959 the U.S. imperialists and the puppet Ngo Dinh Diem Administration carried out repeated barbarous raiding and persecution campaigns such as the

Truong Tan Buu, Thoai Ngoc Hau Campaigns, frenziedly massacring patriotic peace-loving people of all walks of life and former resistance members and exterminating the religious sects and all others who did not side with them.

Right in the first days of peace the blood of the South Vietnamese people was already shed in Duy Xuyen, Huong Dien, Cho Duoc, Vinh Trinh and many other places, and even in the streets of Saigon. In order to step up their large-scale and barbarous raiding operations, the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen enacted the fascist law 10/59 outlawing the South Vietnamese people and all other political groupings and individuals who opposed them and whom they called "Communists". At the same time they set up guillotines all over South Vietnam. In this period, according to incomplete figures, the U.S. hangmen and their henchmen massacred or detained hundreds of thousands of patriots in South Vietnam for the only reason that they struggled for peace and demanded the execution of the provisions of the Geneva agreements, demanded consultation on general elections to reunite the country or simply because they refused to submit to them.

The criminal acts of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen naturally fanned up the flames of anger throughout Vietnam and aroused a wave of seething anger throughout the world.

Public opinion in Vietnam and Asia and the just public opinion all over the five continents severely condemned the tyrannical acts of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen and voiced their demand that they stop their war-seeking and aggressive acts against the South Viet-

namese people and correctly implement the 1954 Geneva agreements.

However, in defiance of the protest of the people of the world who love peace and justice, the U.S. imperialists stubbornly continued to push forward their piratical war in South Vietnam.

During the past 11 years, by carrying out a policy of aggressive colonialism in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have poured 4,000 million dollars disguised under the signboard of "aid", more than 80 per cent of which are direct military expenditures. The aggressive war in South Vietnam was given special attention by the U.S. ruling circles. The late U.S. President Kennedy and the present U.S. President Johnson, the U.S. National Security Council, the Defence Department, State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency have daily been following all developments in South Vietnam. Honolulu has become the site for regular monthly meetings of the ringleaders of the White House, Pentagon and the U.S. generals in the Pacific area to discuss plans of invading South Vietnam.

To grasp firmly and command directly the war of aggression against South Vietnam, besides the military mission M.A.G., the U.S. imperialists set up the U.S. military command in Saigon headed by Paul D. Harkins and recently they rigged up the so-called "U.S.-Vietnam joint command" which is in reality a military organ of the U.S. vested with the highest power in South Vietnam and placed under the direct command of the U.S. President and Defence Department to prosecute the war of aggression against South Vietnam. Nearly all the high officials of the U.S. including department secretaries

and generals have come to South Vietnam to supervise and draw up plans of aggression. To direct their predatory war on the spot, the U.S. Government has sent to Saigon a series of well-known generals of the U.S. like O'Daniel, James Collins, McGarr, Williams, P. D. Harkins, etc. More recently it sent there Maxwell Taylor, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs-of-Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces, with a group of generals and colonels such as W. C. Westmoreland, John L. Throckmorton, etc. The U.S. imperialists and their henchmen have used all their modern weapons and war means except atomic bombs, to terrorize and massacre the South Vietnamese people with the hope of achieving their only goal that is to impose their domination on the South Vietnamese people and turn South Vietnam into their colony and military base.

For nearly 11 years now they have conducted over 160,000 raids big or small, killed nearly 170,000 persons, wounded or disabled by tortures nearly 800,000 others, detained over 400,000 persons in more than 1,000 jails, raped tens of thousands of women including old women, children and religious believers, disembowelled, plucked out livers and biles of the victims and buried alive over 5,000 persons, razed to the ground a large number of villages, herded over 5 million persons into 8,000 concentration camps disguised as "prosperity zones", "resettlement centres", "strategic hamlets" and the like, sprayed toxic chemicals on many areas, destroying hundreds of thousands of hectares of crops and fruit trees and affecting tens of thousands of persons. They have also demolished thousands of pagodas, churches, holy sees or temples, killing tens of thousands of religious

believers. Under the iron heels of the cruel American aggressors and their lackeys, the beautiful and fertile land of South Vietnam has been turned into a land of ruins and desolation. The barbarous fascist regime of the U.S. imperialists and their flunkeys in South Vietnam is even more cruel than the Hitlerite fascist regime or the dark regime in medieval times.

The above facts suffice to expose forcefully the crimes of the U.S. imperialists and their quislings and their bellicose, aggressive and traitorous nature. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have not only violated the provisions of ceasefire agreement and the final declaration of the 1954 Geneva Conference, but also blatantly and entirely scrapped all these international agreements. The Washington authorities and the Vietnamese traitors have not only flouted the Geneva agreements but also grossly trampled upon the spirit and letter of international law and the resolution of the Bandung Conference. These are undeniable realities. To cover up their piratical nature, the U.S. imperialists have resorted to deceitful signboards which nevertheless cannot fool the world's people. It is necessary to recall that the so-called "White Paper" recently issued by Washington is completely null and void. This clumsy thief-crying-stop-thief trick has thrown more light on their intention to intensify and expand their aggressive war. At present, reality in South Vietnam is that the U.S. imperialists are waging a criminal aggressive war, that the U.S. imperialists are the most impudent saboteur of the Geneva agreements, the most dangerous war provocateur and aggressor and the sworn enemy of the peoples of Vietnam, Indo-China and the rest of the world.

2. THE HEROIC SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE ARE RESOLVED TO DRIVE OUT THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS IN ORDER TO LIBERATE SOUTH VIETNAM, ACHIEVE AN INDEPENDENT, DEMOCRATIC, PEACEFUL AND NEUTRAL SOUTH VIETNAM, WITH A VIEW TO NATIONAL REUNIFICATION

The South Vietnamese people have always cherished peace, but are determined not to sit with folded arms and let the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen do what they like in trampling upon their homeland and ride on their backs. They would rather die than be enslaved. The 14 million valiant South Vietnamese people have stood up like one man in undaunted struggle to defeat the U.S. aggressors and the traitors so as to liberate South Vietnam, achieve independence, democracy, peace and neutrality in South Vietnam, in contribution to the maintenance of peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia. The patriotic war of the South Vietnamese people fully conforms to the most elementary and basic principles of international law concerning the peoples' right to self-determination and to wage a patriotic and self-defence war against foreign aggression. In their sacred liberation war, the South Vietnamese people have used all kinds of weapons to fight against the enemy. The chief and biggest arms supplier for the South Vietnamese people's armed forces is nobody else than the U.S. imperialists themselves who have sustained heavy and repeated set-backs over the past years.

Starting with bare hands at the beginning, the South Vietnamese people have immense achievements to their credit and recorded extremely glorious military exploits. They are firmly convinced that with their own strength and the wholehearted support of the people throughout

the world, they will certainly win complete victory. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are at the end of their rope and are in ever greater despair. They are being knocked down in the powerful storm of the South Vietnamese people's revolution and they are still floundering desperately before dying. To retrieve that serious situation, the U.S. imperialists are blindly taking the risk of plunging headlong into extremely dangerous military adventures.

The fact that the U.S. imperialists dispatched to South Vietnam more weapons and combat troops of the U.S. navy, army and air force, more mercenary troops of south Korea and other U.S. satellites, used air force to raid the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Kingdom of Laos, etc., is no indication of their strength but instead, is only the frenzied action of a truculent enemy who has lost his senses. It can intimidate nobody. The present intensification and expansion by the U.S. imperialists of their aggressive war is in itself one of their pitiful failures and proves that the colonialist and aggressive policy carried out in South Vietnam over the past 11 years and their so-called "special war" have gone bankrupt.

If in their "special war", they are being so seriously bogged down, the U.S. imperialists will be tied up still more closely if they launch a local war. If they are rash enough to extend the war to North Vietnam, Indo-China or farther, they will surely meet with still more shameful and quicker defeat.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation once again asserts that the U.S. scheme to send to South Vietnam more combat troops of the navy, ground and air

forces of the U.S. and its satellites, to conduct air strikes against North Vietnam and the Kingdom of Laos in an attempt to gain a "position of strength" and compel the South Vietnam National Liberation Front and the South Vietnamese people to sell out their fatherland in some negotiation with the U.S., is definitely only a daydream of men politically crazy and militarily adventurist. The South Vietnamese people would like to tell the U.S. imperialists and their agents: At present, the only way out for the U.S. imperialists is to get out of South Vietnam. If you stubbornly continue plunging headlong into the war you will sustain the biggest and most shameful failures. On behalf of the 14 million valiant South Vietnamese people, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation solemnly declares: The South Vietnamese people and their armed forces are resolved never to relax their hold on their arms so long as they have not reached their goals: independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. The South Vietnamese people are determined to continue dealing hammering blows at the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, and they will surely win final victory. All negotiations with the U.S. imperialists at this moment are utterly useless if they still refuse to withdraw from South Vietnam all their troops and all kinds of war materials and means and those of their satellite countries, if they still refuse to dismantle all their military bases in South Vietnam, if the traitors still surrender South Vietnamese people's sacred rights to independence and democracy to the U.S. imperialists and if the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation — the only genuine representative of the 14 million South Vietnamese people — does not have its decisive voice.

3. THE VALIANT SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE AND THE SOUTH VIETNAM LIBERATION ARMY ARE RESOLVED TO ACCOMPLISH TO THE FULL THEIR SACRED DUTY TO DRIVE OUT THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS SO AS TO LIBERATE SOUTH VIETNAM AND DEFEND NORTH VIETNAM

Vietnam is one, the Vietnamese people are one. North and South Vietnam are of the same family. This sentiment is higher than mountains and deeper than the sea. This truth is like the sun rising in the east and cannot be shaken by any force whatsoever. In the present state of blood and fire, in a life-and-death struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, the heart cannot but suffer when the hand is cut. That the people in North Vietnam should be resolved to fulfil their duty towards their kith-and-kin in South Vietnam fully conforms to sentiment and reason.

On behalf of the 14 million South Vietnamese people, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation conveys to their 17 million relatives in the north their steel-like confidence and unswerving commitment: "The heroic South Vietnamese people and the South Vietnam Liberation Army are determined to accomplish to the full their sacred duty to drive out the U.S. imperialists, liberate South Vietnam and defend the north, with a view to the reunification of their fatherland."

Recently, to save their critical situation and their inevitable collapse in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists and their flunkeys recklessly sent aircraft and warships to bomb, strafe and shell North Vietnam, but they have received due punishment. Over 50 American jet planes have been shot down. The South Vietnam army and people greatly rejoice at and warmly hail those brilliant military exploits of the North Vietnam army and people.

The heart suffers when the hand is cut! To defend the beloved north, the army and people of the south have given vent to their flames of anger at the U.S. aggressors and their agents. If the U.S. imperialists attack the north of our fatherland once, the army and people of the south are resolved to strike twice or thrice as hard at them.

In February, while the aggressors and traitors attacked the north, in the south the Liberation Army launched stormy attacks on important military bases and main forces of the enemy, putting out of action 20,706 enemy troops (among them nearly 600 U.S. aggressors killed, wounded or captured), seizing 4,144 guns of various kinds and shooting down, damaging or destroying 111 aircraft of various types.

The South Vietnam National Liberation Front warns the U.S. imperialists and the Vietnamese traitors: You have not been able to vanquish the 14 million people of South Vietnam, don't entertain any hope of defeating all the 30 million people of Vietnam. Your acts of military adventure and war expansion definitely cannot help you out of the quagmire, instead, these will lead you more quickly to suicide.

Also to extricate themselves from their predicament in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have repeatedly sent aircraft to bomb and strafe the liberated areas in Laos, repeatedly violated the border and territory of Cambodia, sprayed toxic chemicals and dropped bombs to massacre the Cambodian people. But the U.S. aggressors and their hirelings also received well-deserved counter-blows from the armies and peoples of Laos and Cambodia.

The South Vietnamese people warmly hail the indomitable and heroic fighting spirit of the peoples of

the two neighbouring countries. The South Vietnamese people are resolved to stand firmly by the side of the peoples of Laos and Cambodia in the struggle against the common enemy — U.S. imperialism and its flunkeys. The people and Liberation Army of South Vietnam are determined to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their agents in South Vietnam — the starting point of the acts of war and piracy of the U.S. and its agents against the Kingdoms of Laos and Cambodia.

The South Vietnamese people once again greet the glorious successes of the recent Indo-Chinese Peoples' Conference.

The National Liberation Front and people of South Vietnam warn the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys that should they dare expand the aggressive war to the whole of Vietnam and fan up the flames of war to the whole of Indo-China, the invincible strength of the 30 million people of Vietnam and the strength of hundreds of millions of people in Indo-China and Asia, able to move mountain and fill up sea, will wipe them out and bury them.

4. THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE EXPRESS THEIR PROFOUND GRATITUDE TO THE WHOLEHEARTED SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD WHO CHERISH PEACE AND JUSTICE AND DECLARE THEIR READINESS TO RECEIVE ALL ASSISTANCE INCLUDING WEAPONS AND ALL OTHER WAR MATERIALS FROM THEIR FRIENDS IN THE FIVE CONTINENTS

The just and patriotic struggle of the South Vietnamese people have enjoyed the sympathy, support and encouragement of the people of the whole world who love peace and justice. Not only have the world's people supported the South Vietnamese people morally but have

also assisted and are assisting them materially. Of course the South Vietnamese people and their representative — the National Liberation Front — are fully entitled to accepting and warmly welcoming this valuable assistance.

The South Vietnam National Liberation Front has always relied mainly on its own strength and capability, but it is ready to accept all assistance both moral and material, including weapons and all other war materials from all the socialist countries, the nationalist countries as well as all the international organizations and peace-loving people the world over. Besides, the Front reserves for itself the right to buy weapons and war materials from other countries to strengthen the potentials of its self-defence war.

The International Conference for Solidarity with the People of Vietnam Against U.S. Imperialist Aggression and for the Defence of Peace which was held late last year and attended by representatives from over 50 countries and 16 international organizations gave positive response to these urgent and quite legitimate demands of ours. If the U.S. imperialists continue to commit U.S. combat troops and those of their satellites to South Vietnam and continue to extend the war to North Vietnam and Laos, the South Vietnam National Liberation Front will call on the peoples of various countries to send youth and armymen to South Vietnam to side with the South Vietnamese people in annihilating the common enemy.

While the U.S. imperialists are constantly sowing sufferings and death in South Vietnam, the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, if need be, cannot but call back the sons and daughters of South Vietnam, who have regrouped to the north in observance of the cease-fire agreement and who had to live far from South Viet-

nam during ten long years, to take arms to annihilate the enemy to save their country and families. A Vietnamese proverb runs: "To peel the thick skin of a tangerine there must be a sharp finger-nail." The invincible finger-nail of the Vietnamese people and the peace-loving people all over the world decidedly will not spare the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, who will have to bear all the extremely serious consequences arising from their aggressive and war-seeking acts. Once again, on behalf of the 14 million people of South Vietnam, the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation expresses deep gratitude to the peoples of the socialist countries, the nationalist countries, the international organizations and the peace- and justice-loving people throughout the world who have wholeheartedly supported the just patriotic war of resistance of the South Vietnamese people. More than ever we consider it our glorious internationalist duty to devote all our energy and make all sacrifices to contribute a worthy share to the very great common cause of struggle of all nations to defend independence, democracy, peace and social progress in Indo-China, Southeast Asia and all over the world and to defeat the international gendarme — the warlike and aggressive U.S. imperialists.

5. TO UNITE THE WHOLE PEOPLE, TO ARM THE WHOLE PEOPLE, CONTINUE TO MARCH FORWARD HEROICALLY AND BE RESOLVED TO FIGHT AND TO DEFEAT THE U.S. AGGRESSORS AND THE VIETNAMESE TRAITORS

The armed struggle waged by the South Vietnamese people against the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen has won very great victories.

The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are formidable in appearance but are inwardly very weak and very confused and more isolated than ever. The South Vietnamese people bearing in mind their vow "rather to die than to be enslaved" will definitely smash the barbarous and predatory enemy.

The South Vietnam National Liberation Front and people not only have justice but have also developed and are developing rapidly their material and organizational strength, they have been and are the glorious victors, the more they fight the stronger they become and the more and greater their victories.

We are worthy successors to and have carried to a high point the tradition of Dien Bien Phu and the heroic tradition of the Vietnamese nation with 4,000 years of history against the invaders. Moreover, the South Vietnam National Liberation Front and the South Vietnamese people are fighting heroically in extremely favourable conditions of the present era when the oppressed nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America have risen up like storms. The socialist countries and the forces of democracy and peace all over the world are an important factor stimulating the advance of mankind, overwhelming and annihilating imperialism and colonialism under all guises. If the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen are rash enough to fan up the flames of war and spread them all over Indo-China, the people of this area and Southeast Asia as a whole are resolved to stand up and sweep them out into the ocean.

The South Vietnamese people and their only genuine representative — the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation — will undoubtedly win final victory.

The South Vietnam National Liberation Front Central Committee calls on the 14 million heroic South Vietnamese people and the people's armed forces who are determined to fight and to win on all battlefronts, to hold their guns more firmly than ever, develop vigorously their indomitable and undaunted fighting spirit and resolutely fulfil the following tasks:

— Unite the whole people in a monolithic bloc.

— Arm the whole people and let the whole people stand up like one man to chase away the American aggressors and the Vietnamese traitors.

— The Liberation Army and the people's armed forces courageously march forward, fight continuously, vigorously and hit accurately, fight without giving a minute of respite to the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, and resolutely annihilate as many enemy forces as possible.

— The rural people continue to rise up and destroy the remaining "strategic hamlets", smash all control of the enemy, widen the liberated areas to link up the liberated hamlets, villages and districts into a single stretch, transform the liberated areas into steady strongholds, fight the enemy whenever they come and fight victoriously with the resolve to hold firmly to and defend their native places and fields.

— The people of Saigon, Hue, Da Nang and other cities of South Vietnam urgently develop their revolutionary organizations, continue to turn out for demonstrations and step up their struggle in all fields vigorously and resolutely in order to demand that the U.S. imperialists and their quislings stop their aggressive war in South Vietnam, and to expose the Vietnamese traitors who are lending a hand to the aggressors and selling out their fatherland and people to them.

All the people, cadres and armymen march heroically forward under the liberation banner, resolutely fight to drive out the U.S. aggressors and their quislings to save the country.

Even if we are to carry out the struggle for 10, 20 years or longer, and have to suffer greater difficulties and hardships, we are prepared and resolved to fight and fight to the end until not a single U.S. soldier is seen in our country.

The Vietnamese people have thousands of years of history. That is the heroic history of a heroic nation. During the past ten years of fighting against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their quislings, the people and liberation armed forces of South Vietnam have written a golden page in the glorious history of their people.

We have won and we are winning, the U.S. imperialists and their agents have lost and are losing the war. This proves that our strength is invincible, that the U.S. aggressors and their agents are weak. If we have triumphed over the U.S. during the past ten years or more, we are now provided with all the favourable conditions to defeat them. If the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys have been defeated during the past ten years or more, they are now all the weaker and will suffer heavier defeats. The imperialists will surely meet with shameful defeat especially if they extend the war to the north. We are absolutely confident that victory will belong to us. We are determined to fight, hit vigorously and accurately at the U.S. aggressors and their quislings to liberate the south, defend the north and reunify our fatherland.

PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH'S ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS OF THE *AKAHATA* CORRESPONDENT

(April 5, 1965)

Ho Chi Minh, President of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party and of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, answered the questions raised by Yoshita Takano, correspondent of *Akahata,* organ of the Japanese Communist Party. Following is the full text of the questions and answers:

Question: — The U.S. imperialists have suffered repeated defeats in South Vietnam. However, they are still contemplating to bring in "super-weapons", "up-to-date weapons" in an attempt to subjugate the Vietnamese people. From the people's viewpoint what is the character of the war in Vietnam and what is its significance in contemporary history? The U.S. imperialists are said to have landed themselves into an embarrassing dilemma in South Vietnam. What is the relation between this position and their recent frenzied aggressive acts vis-a-vis North and South Vietnam? In such circumstances, what is the most important immediate task of the Vietnamese people?

Answer: — For over ten years, the U.S. imperialists have waged an aggressive war in South Vietnam in an attempt to turn that zone into a U.S. new-type colony and

military base and to prolong the partition of our country. They have brought in over 30,000 troops and military personnel, thousands of aircraft, hundreds of warships and hundreds of thousands of tons of arms. They have carried out a most ruthless policy of terror and repression against all patriotic people in South Vietnam.

Confronted with such a situation our compatriots in the south have had to rise up against the U.S. aggressors in defence of their life and their country. This struggle has recorded tremendous victories. Over three quarters of the area with two-thirds of the population have been liberated. The United States and its agents have sustained heavy defeats. The U.S. "special war" in South Vietnam is going bankrupt.

If the South Vietnamese people are becoming ever stronger and winning ever greater victories, as the fight goes on, that is because their cause is just, because they are animated with an ardent patriotism and guided by the sound policy of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation. The war waged by our compatriots in the south is a people's revolutionary war against foreign aggression, for national independence and peace. It is an active part of the world people's movement against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States, for national independence, democracy, peace and social progress. That is precisely the reason why the peoples of the whole world are extending us their sympathy and support. The increasing victories of the South Vietnamese people show that in our epoch, a nation closely united and waging a resolute struggle is fully capable of defeating the imperialist aggressors, however ferocious, cruel and well armed they may be.

In an attempt to extricate themselves from the impasse, the U.S. imperialists are feverishly intensifying and stepping up the aggressive war in South Vietnam, they have brought in U.S. marines and south Korean mercenaries. Their planes are daily strafing and dumping napalm bombs and toxic gas on liberated areas, destroying hospitals, schools, and pagodas, and massacring the civilian population including old people, women and children. On the other hand, the war is being carried to the north with repeated air and naval attacks brazenly launched on many places of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Meanwhile the war is intensified in Laos and provocations are staged against Cambodia. The U.S. imperialists' acts of aggression and war in Vietnam are of the utmost gravity. They grossly trample upon the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam and this constitutes a violation of international law and disregards world public opinion.

The U.S. rulers claim that the north is waging "aggression" on South Vietnam and that their attacks on the north aim at putting an end to the assistance extended by the north to the South Vietnamese people. These are deceitful contentions designed to fool the world's peoples and to cover up the U.S. aggressive acts. It must be pointed out that it is the legitimate right of the South Vietnamese people to drive out the U.S. aggressors, to defend their country and to decide for themselves their own internal affairs. It is the sacred right of the Vietnamese in the north as well as in the south to oppose and defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressive acts to defend their national independence and their life. The U.S. imperialists' acts, however frenzied and reckless they may be, cannot

prevent the Vietnamese people from carrying on their patriotic struggle until final victory.

Question: — There is now much talk about a "peaceful settlement" and "negotiations" . . . to end the war in South Vietnam. What, in your view, is the minimum basis for the settlement of the Vietnam problem?

Answer: — Of late, the U.S. imperialists have put forward misleading talks about "peace" and "negotiations". The peoples of the world are fully aware of their aggressive and warlike nature. To step up aggression in South Vietnam and to bomb the north are part of their policy of "special warfare". By such acts, they also aim at bringing about an advantageous position so as to be able, in case of necessity, to negotiate from a "position of strength". This policy is wrong and cannot be carried out.

The Vietnamese people cherish peace and have always respected and correctly implemented the 1954 Geneva agreements. However, they are determined to fight to the end against the aggressors. If the U.S. imperialists stubbornly persist in their policy of aggression and war, they will certainly suffer a humiliating defeat. To settle the South Vietnam question, the United States must, first of all, withdraw from South Vietnam, let the South Vietnamese people decide for themselves their own affairs, and stop its provocative attacks against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The carrying out of these basic points will bring about favourable conditions for a conference along the pattern of the 1954 Geneva Conference. This is a reasonable and sensible approach beneficial to peace and to the U.S. people.

Question: — What is your appraisal of the Indo-Chinese Peoples' Conference recently held in Phnom Penh?

Answer: — The Indo-Chinese Peoples' Conference convened at the initiative of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Cambodian Head of State, has recorded good successes. This is a big victory for the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos in their united struggle against their common enemy, the U.S. imperialists. While the United States is stepping up and expanding the aggressive war in South Vietnam, attacking the DRV, intensifying the war in Laos and repeatedly encroaching on the territory and national sovereignty of Cambodia, the success of the conference shows the determination of the three Indo-Chinese peoples to fight against the U.S. imperialists in defence of national independence and peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia.

Question: — Of late, the U.S. imperialists have schemed to direct the reactionary and militarist Japanese administration to rapidly close the "Japan-ROK talks". They also plan to set up the NEATO aggressive military bloc. This is directly related to their aggressive acts in South Vietnam. What is your assessment of the dangerous designs and activities of the U.S. and Japanese reactionary forces on Japanese soil and of the Japanese people's struggle against these dangerous schemes and acts?

Answer: — The "Japan-ROK talks" are a manoeuvre of the U.S. imperialists aimed at establishing the NEATO aggressive military bloc and intensifying war preparations. This manoeuvre is in complete contradiction with the interests of the Japanese and Korean peoples and poses a threat to peace in the Far East and the world. The U.S. imperialists who are the aggressors in South Vietnam are also occupying the Japanese islands of Okinawa and Ogasawara and occupying south Korea. The Japanese militarists who have colluded with the

United States and repressed the Japanese people have also sent sailors and technicians to help the United States in South Vietnam and allowed Japanese territory to be used as a base for aggression against South Vietnam. The U.S. imperialists are the common enemy of the peoples of Vietnam, Japan and Korea. The same may be said of the Japanese militarists and the south Korean puppets. The Vietnamese people fully support the struggle of the Japanese people against the "Japan-ROK talks" and against the reactionary policy of the U.S. imperialists and Japanese militarists. They sincerely thank the Japanese people for warmly supporting their struggle against the U.S. aggressors.

I take this opportunity to convey my cordial greetings to the editorial board of *Akahata* and request your paper to convey to the fraternal Japanese people the greetings of militant solidarity of the Vietnamese people.

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE BY THE NINTH ENLARGED CONFERENCE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE VIETNAM FATHERLAND FRONT

(April 6, 1965)

The Ninth Enlarged Conference of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Fatherland Front published an appeal, calling on the entire people of Vietnam, irrespective of sex, age, nationality or religious belief, to give full play to their patriotism and glorious tradition of revolutionary heroism, unite as one man under the banner of resistance to U.S. aggression for national salvation, and, with full confidence, march forward courageously to defeat the U.S. aggressors.

The appeal says: "The people throughout our country are facing an extremely serious situation. The U.S. imperialists, the sworn enemy of our nation, are frenziedly stepping up their aggressive war in South Vietnam and recklessly attacking the north. They are hoping that they could intimidate us and win a 'position of strength' in an attempt to force our people to sell out to them the sacred national rights which are independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity already recognized by the 1954 Geneva agreements."

"But the U.S. imperialists have miscalculated," it continues. "Their 'special war' in South Vietnam is meeting

with heavier failures day by day. The props on which they have been relying to carry out the aggressive war are being shaken to their foundations. They cannot triumph over the 14 million South Vietnamese who are united and fighting under the glorious patriotic banner of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation. The more they fight, the more they lose, and the more they expand the fighting, the bigger their failures. The heroic South Vietnamese people have won greater and greater victories as they fight and will surely win complete victory."

The appeal declares: "A united people is invincible. Our people's revolutionary war is surely victorious. In the southern part of our country these truths are shining brighter and brighter like sunlight."

Referring to the repeated heavy blows dealt by the North and South Vietnamese people at the U.S. marauders, it notes that blindly pursuing their dirty interests, the U.S. imperialists have not given up their sinister designs of aggression and war provocation. Their clamours about "peace" and "negotiation" are mere humbug and deceitful tricks. They have openly launched war against Vietnam as a whole. Scrapping the 1954 Geneva agreements, they have crudely encroached upon the Vietnamese people's independence and sovereignty, seriously jeopardizing peace in Indo-China, Southeast Asia and the world.

The appeal stresses that "the Vietnamese revolution is coming to a new turning point: the whole country is in a state of fighting directly against the U.S. aggressors. The fatherland is appealing to our entire people: 'Let us unite to struggle against U.S. imperialism for national salvation!'"

The appeal says, "Facing such a situation, the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front on March 22, 1965 issued a statement voicing the determination of our 14 million compatriots in the south to 'wipe out the U.S. imperialists, liberate South Vietnam, defend North Vietnam and advance toward the reunification of the fatherland.' Warmly responding to this historic statement, the Central Committee of the Vietnam Fatherland Front on March 27, 1965 issued a statement in which it pointed out that to defend the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the fatherland is the sacred duty and an inviolable right of the more than 30 million of our people."

It points out: "The task of our people in North Vietnam in the present period is: to boost production to build socialism while struggling against U.S. imperialism to defend North Vietnam and support with all our might and main the patriotic struggle to liberate South Vietnam."

It calls on:

— The officers and men of the armed forces — the ground, air and naval forces, the people's security forces, the militia and self-defence corps — to strive for the building up of armed forces, to carry further the heroic tradition of their nation and army, fight still more vigorously, win still more resounding victories to defend the fatherland and the people.

— The workers to carry forward revolutionary tradition of their class, to hold hammer in one hand and gun in the other, to improve management and technique, constantly raise labour productivity, boost industrial production, strengthen the economic and national defence capabilities of the north while standing ready to fight

and fight heroically to defend their factories, mines and construction sites.

— All co-operative farmers to carry further their glorious tradition of fighting the enemy for national salvation, to carry plough in one hand and gun in the other, step up production, consolidate their co-operatives, improve management and technique, constantly increase labour productivity in order to ensure an all-sided, vigorous and steady development of agriculture, push forward the movement of the people living in the lowland to develop economy and culture in the mountainous regions, raise the people's living standards, strengthen the national defence capabilities while standing ready to fight and fight courageously to defend their villages and native land.

— The intellectuals and public servants to heighten further their patriotism and revolutionary ardour, devote all their might and main to the cause of building socialism and defeating U.S. imperialism and its quislings.

— People of all walks of life constantly to sharpen their vigilance, enhance their fighting spirit, calmness, and courage, not to indulge in subjectivism and underestimate the enemy, be prepared at all times to cope with all eventualities, develop the spirit of self-reliance, engage in active production and practise economy, endeavour to defend and build the north and support with all their might and main the liberation fight of their compatriots in the south.

— All overseas Vietnamese to turn their thoughts toward their beloved fatherland, actively support the just struggle of our people against U.S. imperialist aggression and mobilize world public to do the same.

— The entire Vietnamese people, irrespective of their age, sex, nationality and religious belief, to give full play to their patriotism, heroic and revolutionary tradition, close further their ranks for national salvation, unite as one man under the ever-victorious banner of the Vietnam Workers' Party and President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of our people.

The appeal urges all those, who have the national spirit in the puppet army and administration in South Vietnam quickly to realize the heinous crimes and inevitable failure of the U.S. imperialists and the utter rottenness of the U.S. lackeys so as to return to the embrace of the fatherland and people and find for themselves a bright future among the people's ranks.

It appeals to all peace- and justice-loving forces in the world, including the American people to promote further the mass movements to demand that the U.S. government correctly implement the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam, end its war of aggression in south Vietnam and all its acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, withdraw all troops, weapons and war materials of its own and its satellites from South Vietnam and let the South Vietnamese people settle their own internal affairs.

The appeal declares: "For the past 20 years or more, the South Vietnamese people have struggled valiantly and unremittingly, making great contributions to the liberation and defence of North Vietnam. They have endured so many sacrifices and hardships for the independence and freedom of the whole country, and for peace in the north. We shall never forget these great services rendered by our fellow-countrymen in the south to the fatherland and the nation.

"At present, in face of the frenzied aggression carried out by the U.S. aggressors against the south and their attacks on the north, more than ever before, we must fight together with our fellow-countrymen in the south to annihilate the U.S. imperialist aggressors and the traitors."

It continues, "In response to the appeal of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, our 17 million people in the north pledge their close solidarity with their compatriots in the south in the fight against the common enemy and support with might and main the revolutionary liberation movement of our compatriots in the south. If to defend North Vietnam is the sacred duty of the South Vietnamese people, to support the south is the sacred duty of the North Vietnamese people. Vietnam is one. The Vietnamese people is one. The U.S. imperialists are committing aggression against our fatherland. It is the duty of all Vietnamese to fight the enemy for national salvation. That is self-evident. That is an inviolable right of all nations under imperialist aggression."

The appeal says, "Our people is a heroic people. No force on earth can subjugate us. For thousands of years in the past, our people had proved themselves to be an undaunted, indomitable and heroic people and have on many occasions fought resolutely and victoriously against enemies several times stronger.

"Today, history has entrusted us with an extremely heavy but extremely glorious task: to defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors, the ringleader and most ferocious of the imperialists, the deadliest of the colonialists, enemy No. 1 of the people throughout the world, so as to liberate the country completely and defend our fatherland — an

outpost of the socialist camp, win a great success for the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America and contribute to the defence of peace in Southeast Asia and the world."

The appeal stresses that, "for the independence of the fatherland, the glory of the nation, for our own survival, our sacred internationalist duty and a bright future for our younger and coming generations, we are resolved to make all sacrifices to fulfil this heavy but glorious task".

It says, "We derive strength from the nationwide solidarity and enjoy the solidarity and support of the socialist countries, the peoples of Laos, Cambodia and other countries in Southeast Asia and the people of the world, including the American people. We have a glorious tradition, we have experience in how to fight and to win. With an iron-like confidence, we are sure to defeat the U.S. aggressors."

The appeal finally says, "The U.S. imperialists are pursuing an unjust cause. Justice is on the side of our people. Justice will definitely triumph over injustice. Our people will certainly defeat the U.S. aggressors. The U.S. imperialists have only one way out, that is, to stop their war of aggression, withdraw all the troops of their own and their satellites, respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of our country as is clearly stipulated in the 1954 Geneva agreements. If the U.S. aggressors stubbornly persist in intensifying their aggressive war in the south and attacking the north, the Vietnamese people are resolved to fight and strike hard and accurately till final victory."

The appeal concludes with the slogans:

"North Vietnam must certainly be defended!

"South Vietnam will certainly be liberated!

"Our fatherland will certainly win complete independence and freedom!

"Our entire people will certainly achieve a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Vietnam!

"Compatriots throughout the country, let us close our ranks and courageously march forward!"

PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH'S ADDRESS TO THE VIETNAM NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

(April 10, 1965)

President Ho Chi Minh in an address to the Second Session of the Third National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam called on the entire Vietnamese people to unite as one and fight with resolution to defeat the U.S. aggressors.

President Ho Chi Minh said:

"This National Assembly session is called in a very tense atmosphere but also in high spirits and with the utmost confidence. The anti-U.S. national salvation movement is sweeping the different parts of the country like a prairie fire. Many resounding victories have been won in both the north and the south.

"For more than ten years, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have been waging a war of unparalleled brutality and have brought innumerable calamities to our compatriots in the south. During the recent months, they have madly extended the war to the northern part of our country. They have sent hundreds of planes and scores of warships to bomb and attack the north continually in defiance of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam and international law. The U.S. imperialists have shown up themselves as gangsters and are attacking our country in a flagrant manner. They fondly hope

that by force of arms, they could reduce our thirty million compatriots to be their slaves. In this they are grossly mistaken. They are doomed to miserable failure.

"We Vietnamese nation is a nation of heroes. In the last ten years or more, our fourteen million fellow-countrymen in the south have endured all inconceivable hardships and sacrifices and have fought with matchless valour. Bare-handed in the beginning, they captured arms from the enemy and fought back and have won one victory after another. They are now going on a sustained offensive and inflicting ever heavier defeats on the U.S. marauders and the traitors who are sinking deeper and deeper in the mire. The heavier their defeat, the more barbarous the means they employed, as for instance the employment of napalm bombs and poison gas to massacre our fellow-countrymen in the south. Just because they cannot pull themselves out of the hopeless predicament in the south, they have started frenzied attacks on the north."

He pointed out that "it is the usual practice of the U.S. imperialists to play the trick of thief-crying-stop-thief! They are the aggressor, but they are cynical enough to slander the north as having 'invaded' the south".

Meanwhile, he said, U.S. President Johnson shouted himself hoarse the threat that force would be used to bring our people to terms. "This is the daydream of a madman. Our people will never submit."

He stressed: "The Taylor plan had fizzled out. The McNamara plan, too, has gone bankrupt. The 'escalation' plan which the U.S. imperialists are pursuing with the greatest energy against the north is also bound to fail. The armymen and people of our country are deter-

mined to defeat them even if the United States sends a few hundred thousand more men and dragoons troops of some of its satellites into this criminal war.

"The statement of the National Front for Liberation of the South gives perfect expression to this heroism. The appeal of the Vietnam Fatherland Front manifests this inflexible determination.

"We love peace, but we are not afraid of war. We will drive out the invading U.S. marauders to defend the freedom, independence and territorial integrity of our country. It is the firm belief of our entire people that with our united fighting strength, our courage and creativeness, and with the sympathy and support of people throughout the world, we will surely be able to carry this great war of resistance through to complete victory."

President Ho Chi Minh thanked the people of the socialist countries and of all the five continents for their fraternal support and sincere help to the Vietnamese people in resisting the U.S. imperialist aggressor — the most ferocious enemy of mankind.

He heartily welcomes the expressed wish of young people of various countries to join the Vietnamese people as volunteers in Vietnam to repulse the American marauders.

He noted that many organizations and individuals in the United States were urging their government immediately to stop its unjust war and withdraw U.S. troops from South Vietnam. "Our people are determined to drive away U.S. imperialism, which is our sworn enemy, but we have always been friendly towards the progressive people of the United States."

The President reaffirmed the unswerving stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam:

"Resolutely safeguard the national independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam. Vietnam is one country and the Vietnamese are one nation. Nobody is allowed to encroach upon this sacred right of our people. U.S. imperialism must respect the Geneva agreements and pull out of South Vietnam! It must immediately stop its attacks on the north."

He said: "This is the only way to solve the question of the Vietnamese war, implement the 1954 Geneva agreements and safeguard peace in the Indo-Chinese and Southeast Asian countries. There is no alternative. This is the answer of our people and our government to U.S. imperialism."

He declared: "The people of our country are living in a historical moment of heroism and sacrifice. Our country is an outpost of the socialist camp and of the peoples of the world engaged in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. To us, this is a great honour.

"Our people fight and make sacrifices not only for our own freedom and independence but also for the freedom and independence of other peoples and for world peace.

"Our nation is undertaking a momentous and glorious duty on the front of the struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression.

"At present, to resist U.S. aggression and save the country is the most sacred task of every patriotic Vietnamese. Under the leadership of the National Front for Liberation — the only genuine representative of the people of South Vietnam, the heroic compatriots and fighters of the south are valiantly forging ahead to win still greater victories to liberate the south and defend the north.

"The armymen and people in the north, while actively unfolding an emulation drive to build socialism, are fighting heroically to defend the north and giving all-out support to the south."

He proposed that the National Assembly give warm support to the statement of the National Front for Liberation of the South and the appeal of the Vietnam Fatherland Front, warmly hail the heroic fellow-countrymen and fighters in the south and pay glowing tribute to the armymen and people in the north who are working vigorously to increase production and performing meritorious services to decimate the enemy.

President Ho Chi Minh concluded his address by calling on the people and fighters throughout the country:

"Ceaselessly to develop your revolutionary heroism, sharpen your vigilance and increase your militancy;

"Vigorously develop the campaign of 'one man doing the work of two', resolutely surmount all difficulties, exert yourselves to build and defend the socialist north and give unreserved support to the fellow-countrymen in the south."

APPEAL OF THE VIETNAM NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLIES OF ALL COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD

(April 10, 1965)

The National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, at its session held in Hanoi, capital city, from 8 to 10 April, 1965, wishes to draw the attention of the national assemblies of all countries in the world to the extremely serious situation in Vietnam created by the aggressive policy of the U.S. imperialists.

Over the past few years, the U.S. imperialists have been conducting an aggressive war in the southern part of our country. They have set up there a puppet administration to oppress and exploit our people and built a puppet army to serve as their mercenaries. By most savage and cruel means, they have imprisoned our southern compatriots in disguised concentration camps called "strategic hamlets", launched repeated terrorist operations to raze villages to the ground, dropped napalm bombs and noxious chemicals on densely populated areas to massacre the population and destroy crops and vegetation. Recently, they even resorted to poison gas as a war means.

To win and safeguard their right to live, our southern compatriots have risen up to fight against them and have won more and greater victories day by day. Faced

with the danger of failure, the U.S. Government has increased its military and economic aid to the puppet administration in Saigon, brazenly introduced U.S. marines, strategic air force and the troops of its satellite countries into South Vietnam to take part directly in the war there.

Meanwhile, in an attempt to retrieve their embarrassing situation in South Vietnam, exert "pressure" on the north and "bolster up the morale" of their lackeys, the U.S. imperialists have sent aircraft and warships for daily bombings and strafings of North Vietnam, repeatedly intruding into the airspace and territorial waters of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, in violation of all international law.

Along with frenziedly stepping up the aggressive war in South Vietnam and expanding war to North Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have increased their intervention in Laos and carried out continuous provocation against Cambodia, revealing more cynically than ever their aggressive and cruel colonialist nature.

Yet, like a "thief crying stop thief", the U.S. Government has shamelessly slandered the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as committing "aggression" in South Vietnam.

In his speech on April 7, 1965 U.S. President L. Johnson spoke of a "peaceful settlement" and "unconditional discussions" on the Vietnam problem, of a South Vietnam "free from outside interference, tied to no alliance, a military base for no other country. . . ."

But the truth is that at present the U.S. Government continues to introduce more U.S. combat units and intends to commit more troops of its satellite countries into South Vietnam and continues to send air and naval craft to bomb and strafe the Democratic Republic of

Vietnam. President Johnson himself declared in his speech that the U.S. "will not withdraw, either openly or under the cloak of a meaningless agreement" and will continue to use "force" in Vietnam. It is clear that faced with the resolute resistance of the Vietnamese people and the strong pressure of public opinion at home and abroad, the U.S. Government had to talk about "peace" in an attempt to dupe the people and put the blame onto others, and at the same time prepare public opinion for the intensification and expansion of the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam and Indo-China. But we are firmly confident that the deceitful and self-contradictory contentions of the U.S. ruling circles can in no way deceive the Vietnamese people and the world's people, including the American people, on the contrary they can only deepen the people's anger and make them still more determined to oppose the U.S. imperialists.

The truth is that over the past 20 years, the U.S. imperialists have constantly been pursuing their aggressive scheme against our country.

During the past 10 years or more, the U.S. Government has systematically violated the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam, though the U.S. representative at the Geneva Conference had undertaken not to use violence to undermine the implementation of these agreements. In fact, all policies and acts carried out by the U.S. Government in this region are aimed at abolishing the legal basis and the important provisions of the Geneva agreements, trampling upon the national rights of the Vietnamese people, already recognized by other countries, namely, independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity.

In short, the U.S. imperialists have committed in the southern part of our country most horrible crimes which human conscience cannot tolerate. Now, they are extending the war in an attempt to sabotage the peaceful labour of our people in the north.

The National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam energetically denounces to world public opinion the aggressive policy of the U.S. imperialists and asserts that it is the root and direct cause of the present situation of extreme gravity in Vietnam and in Southeast Asia as a whole.

The National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam solemnly declares that the entire Vietnamese people, closely united against U.S. imperialism for national salvation, are resolved to use their legitimate self-defence right and fulfil their sacred duty to defend the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam and contribute to the struggle of the world's people for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. With the ever stronger sympathy and support of peace-loving people in the world, the just struggle of the Vietnamese people will certainly win complete victory.

In order to check the danger of an expanding war created by the U.S. imperialists with incalculable consequences, restore peace in Vietnam on the basis of the recognition and realization of the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people, the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam unanimously approves of the stand of the D.R.V. Government which is to respect the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam and correctly implement the fundamental provisions of these agreements as embodied in the following points:

1) Recognition of the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people which are independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. In strict conformity with the Geneva agreements, the U.S. Government must withdraw its troops, military personnel and weapons, ammunition and war materials of all kinds from South Vietnam, dismantle the U.S. military bases there, abolish its military alliance with the South Vietnam administration and at the same time stop its policy of intervention and aggression in South Vietnam. The U.S. Government must stop all its acts of war against North Vietnam and put a definite end to all acts of encroachment upon the territory and sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

2) Pending the realization of the peaceful reunification of Vietnam, while Vietnam is still temporarily divided in two, the military provisions of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam must be strictly respected: the two zones must refrain from joining any military alliance with foreign countries, there must be no foreign military bases, troops or military personnel in their respective territory.

3) The affairs of South Vietnam must be settled by the South Vietnamese people themselves in accordance with the program of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation without any foreign intervention.

4) The realization of the peaceful reunification of Vietnam must be settled by the people in the two zones without foreign intervention.

The National Assembly and Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam hold that the above stand constitutes the basis for the most correct political settlement of the Vietnam problem. Only when this basis is recognized can there be favourable conditions to achieve

a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam question and is it possible to consider the convening of an international conference of the type of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Vietnam.

The National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam firmly believes that this stand will certainly enjoy the sympathy and support from the national assemblies and governments of other countries and peace- and justice-loving people all over the world.

The National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam calls on and proposes to the national assemblies of other countries to communicate quickly and by every possible means the above-said situation and the stand of the D.R.V. National Assembly, Government and people to the deputies and people of all strata in their countries so that everybody can see the sinister aggressive design of the U.S. imperialists and to take appropriate actions to support our just stand vigorously and at the same time to raise their voices to demand resolutely that the U.S. Government end at once its aggression in South Vietnam, stop its provocations, air and naval attacks against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

On behalf of the entire Vietnamese people, the D.R.V. National Assembly expresses its sincere thanks for all valuable support of the national assemblies of other countries and believes that their just voices will help check the bloody hands of the U.S. imperialists and defend peace in Indo-China, Southeast Asia and the world.

With their valiant fighting spirit and their tremendous efforts, with the valuable sympathy and support of the national assemblies, governments and people of other countries, the Vietnamese people will certainly record final victory.

HOW U.S. IMPERIALISM HAS TORN UP THE GENEVA AGREEMENTS

In July 1954 agreements on the restoration of peace in Indo-China were reached at the Geneva Conference. In the past 11 years, however, their provisions on the Vietnam question, far from being put into force, have been wantonly trampled underfoot and completely wrecked by U.S. imperialism. In spite of this, U.S. President Johnson sees fit to pass himself off as a protector of the agreements. With his tongue in his cheek, he said in his March 25 statement that the United States seeks "no more than a return to the essentials of the agreements of 1954". This is a big lie.

Let us look at the following facts:

The Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference provides that the military demarcation line at the 17th Parallel in Vietnam "is provisional and should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary". It also provides that nationwide free general elections on the basis of unanimity reached in the consultations between the southern and northern parts shall be held in Vietnam in July 1956 for the purpose of realizing the peaceful unification of the whole country.

But the day the agreements were signed, the then U.S. Defence Secretary Wilson stated that the United States would be ready at any time to protect the military

demarcation line in Vietnam as it did the military demarcation line in Korea. On the following day, the then U.S. President Eisenhower brazenly declared the United States not bound by any decisions at the Geneva Conference.

Afterwards, through Ngo Dinh Diem, the lackey whom it fostered in South Vietnam, the United States held illegal elections there in March 1956, published a bogus "constitution", and founded the so-called Republic of Vietnam. This ruled out the possibility of bringing about peaceful unification of the country in accordance with the Geneva agreements.

Article 14 (c) of the agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam stipulates: "Each party undertakes to refrain from any reprisals or discrimination against persons or organizations on account of their activities during the hostilities and to guarantee their democratic liberties." But after the cessation of hostilities, the puppet clique in South Vietnam, abetted and supported by the United States, engaged in brutal reprisals against and suppression of persons who had taken part in the war of resistance to French colonial rule, and other patriots. For instance, more than 1,000 of them were fatally poisoned in the Phu Loi concentration camp in December 1958 by the U.S.-puppet regime. In some 11 years, nearly 170,000 people were massacred, almost 800,000 tortured or maimed and another 400,000 imprisoned in more than 1,000 jails. A large number of these victims were veterans of the resistance war.

Article 16 of the agreement lays it down that "the introduction into Vietnam of any troop reinforcements and additional military personnel is prohibited". But following the ceasefire, the United States, instead of

withdrawing the "military advisory group" it had previously sent to South Vietnam, greatly expanded its military strength there by continuously bringing in military personnel. Before the end of hostilities, there were 200 of them in South Vietnam. But the figure increased to about 2,000 in 1957, 3,500 at the end of 1961, 25,000 at the end of 1963, and more than 30,000 in 1965. Moreover, the United States has goaded its satellites to send mercenaries of whom 2,000 alone are puppet troops from south Korea.

Article 17 of the agreement stipulates that "the introduction into Vietnam of any reinforcements in the form of all types of arms, munitions and other war materials, such as combat aircraft, naval craft, pieces of ordnance, jet engines and jet weapons and armoured vehicles, is prohibited". But the United States in flagrant violation of this stipulation has introduced into South Vietnam steady reinforcements in the form of large quantities of war materials. From the end of 1954 to March 1963, the war materials illegally dispatched to South Vietnam by the United States totalled 1,606 shiploads and there were 3,643 illegal aircraft arrivals. Altogether, the United States has now sent to South Vietnam 2,000 aircraft, more than 800 naval craft, several hundred tanks and armoured vehicles and over 100,000 tons of arms and war equipment. Recently, U.S. missiles and B-57 strategic bombers have been brought in.

Article 18 of the agreement lays down that "the establishment of new military bases is prohibited throughout Vietnam territory". Article 19 also provides that "no military base under the control of a foreign state may be established in the regrouping zone of either party". But the United States has now built 169 airfields in South

Vietnam compared with a mere 6 military airfields when hostilities ended in 1954. In addition, it has built or expanded 11 military harbours with modern facilities and a network of strategic highways. The whole of South Vietnam has been turned into a U.S. military base for aggression in Southeast Asia.

Article 19 of the agreement provides that "the two parties shall ensure that the zones assigned to them do not adhere to any military alliance and are not used for the resumption of hostilities or to further an aggressive policy". But just over a month after the signing of the Geneva agreements, the United States rigged up SEATO and put South Vietnam under the "protection" of this military bloc. Under the signboard of "aid" the United States has spent over U.S.$4,000 million in South Vietnam, fostered a most reactionary puppet regime, set up the darkest reign of fascist terror and expanded the puppet troops to 600,000, all armed and equipped by the United States. It directed the puppet authorities to launch "mopping-up" operations and to carry out brutal massacres against the South Vietnamese people.

In 1961 the U.S. imperialists launched an undeclared war in South Vietnam and turned it into a testing ground for "special warfare" for suppressing the national-liberation movements. In the three years from 1962 to 1964, the U.S.-puppet troops carried out 105,000 "mopping-up" and suppression operations. In 1963 alone the U.S. air force stationed in South Vietnam flew 300,000 bombing and strafing missions. Besides using guns and bayonets to kill the South Vietnamese people, the U.S. imperialists have also used napalm, phosphorous bombs, toxic chemicals and gas.

The southern part of Vietnam has an area of only 170,000 square kilometres and a population of 14 million but the U.S. imperialists have launched there the biggest war in the world today. Not only this, the U.S. imperialists have used their bases of aggression in South Vietnam to carry out repeated air attacks on the northern part of Vietnam and Laos in an attempt to spread the flames of war to the whole of Indo-China and Southeast Asia.

The facts of the past 11 years are irrefutable proof that U.S. imperialism is a most shameless violator of the Geneva agreements and that it has committed monstrous crimes against the Vietnamese people.

(March 29, 1965)

三千万越南人民的庄严誓言

外文出版社出版（北京）
1965年第一版
编号：（英）3050—1147
00030
3-E—684P